

## THE LIBRARY.

### JOHN RASTELL'S PLAYS.

**I**N the concluding part of an article on 'The Canon of John Heywood's Plays' in the April number of 'THE LIBRARY,' 1918, I referred to a Court of Requests Case that I had come across at the Record Office of the prosecution of John Ravyn, Purser of the 'Barbara,' a seaman of some standing in the navy, by John Rastell, the printer, Heywood's father-in-law. Rastell had set out armed with letters of recommendation from the king, in the summer of 1517, on the 'Barbara,' bound for the New-found-lands. This voyage of discovery was a concerted undertaking, for the depositions contain allusions to the 'rest of the fleet'; and it appears from a reference to it forty years later by Sir Richard Eden, that Sebastian Cabot was one of the organizers. Eden says that it failed through the faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Perte (Spert), the master of that leviathan of the early Tudor navy, the 'Henri Grace à Dieu.' However that may be, the mariners refused to sail beyond Cork, and it appears that the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Surrey, winked at their misdemeanour, for reports had reached him that the French Navy contemplated adventures in the Channel.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. & P. Hen. VIII, ii, 3367.

The case is interesting as a contribution to the story of the early voyagers, but it is made doubly so by Rastell's subsequent references to it in his 'Play of the Four Elements,' in which he records his disappointment :

But they that were the venturers  
 Haue cause to curse their maryners

Whiche wolde take no paine to saile farther  
 Than their owne lyst and pleasure.

That John Rastell was the author as well as the printer of this Interlude has been very generally accepted, but perhaps even the sceptics will now admit that the case for Rastell is at last overwhelming. There is no reason, however, why we should not take further evidence and see whether it may not lead us to wider conclusions.

The 'Four Elements' has come down to us in a single copy, and that is imperfect. Indeed, if Rastell followed his master Medwall in writing his Interludes in two parts, then we have less than half of the original, and this I think is probable. For, of the ten 'diuers matters,' points of natural philosophy, that are promised in the preface, only the first four are dealt with. The sixth is 'of the generation and cause of well-springs and rivers; and of the cause of hot fumes that come out of the earth; and of the cause of the baths of water in the earth, which be perpetually hot.' Now we may gather some notions as to Rastell's views on fumes and hot baths from the passage in the 'Pastime of People' under Bladud, the founder of Bath :

a grete nigromancyer, as the story seyth, and by y<sup>t</sup> craft made there y<sup>e</sup> hote bathys, but other clerkis hold opynyon that they come naturally of y<sup>e</sup> grounde. . . . Some phylozophers holde that y<sup>e</sup> cause thereof is this: that whan there is a hote fume etc,

Possibly under the article 'Stones,' he worked in the views on the composition of the 'stones at Stonehenge . . . all of one gryt,' which he gives us under Aurelius Ambrosius. For the most part the 'Pastyme' is an abbreviation of Fabyan, to whose memory Rastell's son William did some amends by printing him in full in 1533, but it is enriched at intervals by characteristic Rastellian excursions; and even the omissions are often illuminating, as when he refrains from repeating that it was for witchcraft that Jeanne d'Arc was burnt.

When we find an aside or critical remark therefore in the 'Pastime' we hear Rastell speaking, and as we know that we are listening to him in the 'Four Elements,' we are prepared for coincidences. If then we find like coincidences occurring in another play printed by Rastell, 'Gentleness and Nobility,' of which he said in the colophon 'Johēs rastell me fieri fecit,' we may consider that the question of authorship is opening to proof.

In the first or Roman section of the 'Pastyme,' under the article 'Publius Valerius Publicola,' Rastell tells us that when a Dictator's term of office was completed, he was answerable to complaints alleged against him and punishable for offences. To this he attributes the high standard

of Roman law and justice and the growth of Rome in riches and power.

Wold God, he adds, it was so used at this day in the realme of England, that euery iugge and other offycers hauyng auctoryte to execute y<sup>e</sup> lawis, or to gouern or to rule in any office, shold be remouable at iiij or v yere or lesse and then to answer to all complayntis that shold be allegid agayns him, and to be ponished for euery offence that he had committid in his rome, and then ther wold not be so mich extorcione and oppressione of the pore people, nor so many iniuries as is now a-days.

Later, under Edward I, he finds an instance of such an inquest into the conduct of officials:

Many complaints were made of his offycers as mayres, sheryffes, baylyffes, exchetours, aud dyuers other. Wherefore he ordayned his justyce to make inquisicyons therof, whiche after was called Trolbaston; where by forfeytours and fynes, the kynge . . . fylled his coffers agayne.

To this Rastell, himself, adds the comment:

Nevertheless, this kynge did great good within the realme of Englande, for those offenders were well chastycyd, and were moche more meker and better, and the pore comons lyued in moche more rest and peace.

Now the stage, like the printing press, was an instrument to Rastell for the mission he so often speaks of, his work for the 'Commonweal.' It is arresting, therefore, to find in the concluding stanzas of 'Gentleness and Nobility' the passage that follows:

But because that men of nature euermore  
Be frayle & folowyng sensualyte  
Yt is impossyble in a maner therfore  
For any gouernours that be in auctoryte



At all tymys Just & indyfferent to be  
Except they be brydelyd & ther to compellyd  
By some strait laws for them deuysyd

As thus that no man such rome occupye  
But certayn yerys & than to be remouyd  
Yet that whyle bound to attend dylygently  
And yf he offend & surely prouyd  
wyth out any fauour that he be ponyhysshyd  
for the ponysshment of a Juge or offycer  
Doth more good than of thousand other

And untill that such orders be deuysyd  
Substauncyally / and put in execucyon  
Loke neuer to see the world amended  
Nor of the gret myschefes the reformation  
But they that be bounde to see the thinges done  
I pray god of his grace put in theyr myndys  
To reforme shortly suche thynges amys.

And though that I myselfe now percase  
Thus myn oppynyon haue publyshed  
Or any of my felowes here in this place  
In any poynt here haue us abused  
we beseche you to holde us excused  
And so the auctor hereof requyreth you all  
And thus I comyt you to god eternall

A M E N

Johēs rastell me fieri fecit.

I suppose that it did not occur to John Rastell after that that it was necessary further to claim that he was the 'auctor hereof.' Now, however, that we have so substantial a piece of evidence to step from, we may look about us for others.

We learn from the article Henry IV that the 'Pastyme' was compiled in 1529. In this year

Rastell produced another striking work entitled 'A Boke of Purgatory.' He nowhere mentions Simon Fish, with whose general position in 'The Supplication for Beggars' he certainly had much sympathy, but the 'Boke of Purgatory' was written to combat Fish's statement that many men of 'greate litterature and iudgment,' for the love that they have 'unto the trowth and unto the comen welth . . . declare theyre oppinion . . . that there is no purgatory,' but that it is an invention of the spirituality.

Rastell's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas More, replied to Fish in the same year in his 'Supplication of Souls,' in which the souls in Purgatory appealed against the isolation that threatened them and besought their brethren on earth to think what this action involved.

Rastell bases his proof on 'natural reason and good philosophy' and conducts his case by dialogue; Gyngemyn, a Mohammedan Turk, and Comyngo an 'Almayne,' carry the thesis through three books, the 'Almayne' playing the part of listener. It is agreed that no scriptural allusions are to be admitted; on this point there is much emphasis laid:

But yet one thyng I will warne the, says the Turk,  
consyderyng that my onely purpose is to proue the thyng  
(the existence of Purgatory) by reason / that . . . thou  
alledge no manner text no authoryte neither of the bokys  
of the olde byble / nor of the newe testament, neyther of  
no other boke . . . of the deuynite of thy crysten faythe.

We have here a characteristic Rastell attitude. He is the apostle of 'natural reason and good

philosophy.' His faith in the appeal of reason is remarkable. Thus in 'Gentleness and Nobility,' the Ploughman, who is attacking the laws and custom of inheritance, is met by the knight with the text 'tibi dabo terram hanc et semini tuo'; whereon he replies:

*Ploughman.* Thou answerest me now euen lyke a fole  
As some of these fonde clarkes that go to scole  
when one putteth to them a subtyll questyon  
Of phylozophy to be prouyde by reason

Then they will aledge some auctoryte  
Of the lawes or elles of deuynite  
whiche in no wyse men may denye  
And yet ye knowe well that of phylozophy  
The pryncyple oft contraryant be  
Unto the very grounds of deuynite

To estimate the value of this coincidence one must remember that this is a very advanced position for the early Tudor mind. As to its dramatic appropriateness, we may recall that outside Chaucer the mediæval ploughman enjoyed literary privileges.

Rastell's central position as the apostle of 'natural reason and good philosophy' is in the warp and weft of the Interlude. The best way to convert the people, he says:

Ys to perswade them by natural reason  
For when that a man by hys owne reason  
Juggyth hymself for to offend  
That grudgyth his conscyens & gyffeth compuncyon  
Into hys herte to cause hym amend.

'G. & N.'

## 8 JOHN RASTELL'S PLAYS.

Or as he says in the 'Book of Purgatory':

There is nothing in the worlde shall alter and chaunge  
a mannes mynde and beleue so well and surely / as shall  
the iugement of his owne reason.

'B. of P.' II, Cap. I.

The 'Boke of Purgatory' deals with the Existence of God in Book I, the Immortality of Man's Soul in Book II, and Purgatory in Book III. It is a fascinating book, because it so entirely reflects the singularity of Rastell's mind:

Nobleness (he says in I. 4) is that whyche hath leste nede of foreyne helpe / that is to saye of helpe of any other thyng . . . the cause is more noble than the effect . . . everything that takyth any effect hath nede of the cawse. . . . God is the most noble thing that can be.

This appears in the Interlude in the following words of the philosophic ploughman:

*Ploughman.*

Ys not y<sup>t</sup> the noblyst thyng in dede  
That of all other thynges hath lest nede  
As god which reynith etern in blysse  
Is not he the noblest thing y<sup>t</sup> is . . .  
. . . (because he) nedyth the helpe of no nother thyng  
To the helpe of his gloryous beyng  
But euery other thyng hath nede of his ayde.

To this, the reply is made that 'euerie beest fyssh and other foule' is by this reasoning 'more noble of birth than a man':

For man hath more nede of bodely coueryng  
Than they haue for they nede no thinge  
The bestes haue herr & also a thik skin  
The fissh skalys or shells to kepe theyr bodyes in

The foulis fethers & so eueri thing  
 Bi nature hath his proper couering  
 Saue man himself which is born all nakyd  
 And therfore he shuld be than most wrechyd

The Ploughman readily grants that 'consideryng man's body, a beste is more noble & man more wrechyd,' for man must 'dayly labour & swete,' dig, kill beasts for meat, cultivate fruits and herbs for drinks,

Yet this not wythstandyng  
 Man is most noble of creatures lyuyng  
 Not by hys body for that is impotent  
 But by his soule beyng so excellent  
 For by reason of his soule intellectyue  
 He subdewyth all other bestis alyue  
 And compellyth all other bestis that be  
 By hys wit to releue his necessitye.

Now this line of thought occurs also in the section of the 'Book of Purgatory' that deals with the immortality of man's soul. After distinguishing souls vegetative (plant life), souls sensitive (animal life), and souls intellective, Gyngemyn, the Turk, replies to Comyngo's question:

Why is the life of man here in yerthe more wreched sorowful & worse than the lyfe of any other brute beste.

*Gyn.* Thou knowest . . . that the body of man is more feble and tender than the body of any other brute beste / for the bodye of man is all tender and naked . . . for ye fysshes have of theyr nature shelles or skalys to couer and defend theyr bodyes / the bestes be full of here and haue thycke skynnes / the foules haue fethers. . . . Man must take great labour for the obteynyng of his

necessary fode & lyuyng as to tyll the grounde . . . to get hym drynk & fode (II. 5). And also the (soul) of man hath a more noble and a more worthy beyng than the brute best whiche hath but lyfe sensytyue (I. 6).

The same fundamental thoughts occur in the 'Four Elements':

Plantis and herbys growe and be insensate  
Brute bestis have memory and their wyttes fyne  
But thou hast all those and soule intellectyue  
So by reason of thyne understandyng  
Thou hast domynyon of other bestes all.

'Four Elements,' A 6.

'He that studieth for the life bestial, as voluptuous pleasure and bodily rest, I account him never better than a beast.' 'The more that thou desirest to know anything, therein thou seemest the more a man to be; for that man desireth no manner cunning, all that while no better than a beast is he.' These two sentences from the speech of Natura Naturata in the 'Four Elements,' occur as follows in the words of the Ploughman:

One cause therof ys for lak of lernyng  
They perseyue not the reason of the thyng.  
A nother is be cause ther be many  
That call them self gentylmen unworthy  
Whych lyfe voluptuously & bestyall.

'G. & N.' B. I.

When the Ploughman says that 'each man is born to labour truly as a bird is born to fly naturally' he is uttering one of Rastell's principles, one that got him into trouble in later years when he fought

the clergy about tithes and offerings. It is behind the strong views on the evils of inheritance that he maintains in 'Gentleness and Nobility.' It is expressed just as clearly in the 'Four Elements':

For euery man in reason thus ought to do  
To labour for his owne necessary lyuyng  
And than for the welth of his neyghbour also.

'Four Elements,' A III.

I have, however, said enough to show that there can be little doubt that the Play of 'Gentleness and Nobility' is the work of John Rastell. A much more exhaustive collection of parallel passages might be made, but it is sufficient to have found typical examples from the 'Pastyme of People,' the 'Boke of Purgatory,' and the 'Four Elements.'

If then in the words 'Johēs rastell me fieri fecit' in the colophon of 'G. & N.,' we are to understand that authorship is implied, what is the meaning of the colophon of 'Calisto and Melebea,' 'Johēs rastell me imprimi fecit'?

It would be an important help to know how Rastell himself rendered the words, and I think that we have this information. The colophon to his edition of Lynacre's 'Progymnasmata' runs:

Empryntyd in London on y<sup>e</sup> Sowth syde of Paulys by  
John Rastell with y<sup>e</sup> priuylege of our most suverayn lord  
kyng henry the VIII grauntyd to the compyler therof that  
no man in thys hys realm sell none but such as *the same*  
*compyler makyth pryntyd* for y<sup>e</sup> space of 11 ycare.

The italics are mine; the words 'Johēs Rastell me imprimi fecit' may therefore be rendered on



Rastell's authority, 'John Rastell (the compyler) had me put in print.' And they bear the same meaning in the 'Magnum Abbreviamentum' of 1528.

The Interlude of 'Calisto and Melebea' thus vouched for by its colophon as Rastell's, following in the train of Medwall's 'Lucrece,' is a Comedy of romantic intrigue, and like Medwall's play it is a translation. In Mr. H. Warner Allen's edition of Mabbe's translation of 'Celestina' with the Interlude of 'Calisto and Melebea,' we are fortunate in possessing a remarkably comprehensive and methodical treatment of the literary history of this early Spanish picaresque romance. The Interlude, he suggests, was translated directly from the Spanish not earlier than 1502. The translator worked fairly literally on Act I, part of Act II and Act IV of the twenty-one Acts of the original. Then after line 920 the connection with the original suddenly ceases, the coarse intrigues of 'Celestina the bawd' are cut short, the father of Melebea enters under a name new to the romance, 'Danio,' and the play proceeds to an edifying, moral conclusion. Of the 1,088 lines of the Interlude 800 were found by Mr. Allen to be more or less literally translated, 168 belong to the moral ending, and there are 42 lines of introductory dialogue before the translation begins. We are left therefore with only 78 lines of original matter in the body of the play. Some of these are scriptural and conventional substitutions for classical references, Eve for instance takes the place of an erring goddess, a prayer to St. Appoline is substituted for a Cumæan charm, Melebea 'goeth to mass' prettily

in the Interlude, but merely 'goes abroad' in the original. There is not much scope left, therefore, for a search for Rastell's workmanship in the body of the translation.

I hope to show, however, that it is not improbable that his hand is to be detected even there.

To More, Celestina was 'the baude mother or naughtynes,' and the writer of the edifying close was of the same opinion. How was the needful break effected? A few lines of soliloquy are allowed to Celestina, who then departs to inform Calisto, the Romeo of the 'Tragicomedia,' that the plot goes well; and then Danio, father of Melebea, enters, greatly haunted by a horrid dream. Melebea comes on and he relates the dream. She recognises its significance and confesses how near to disaster she has come. At her father's bidding she prays for forgiveness; he raises her up, and then turning to the audience takes upon him the Rastellian office of Philosopher, and begins:

Lo here ye may see what a thyng it is  
To bryng up yong people verteously

and we fall back at once into a characteristic vein:

The bryngers up of youth in this region  
Haue done gret harme because of theyr neclygens  
Not puttyng them to lernyng nor occupacyons  
So when they haue no craft nor sciens  
And come to mans state ye see thexperience  
That many of them compelled be  
To beg or stele by very necessite.

The same complaint of the evil effects of an idle youth appears in the words of our old friend the Ploughman :

Alas I haue knowen many or thys  
 So proud of theyr byrth that all theyr lyffys  
 wold gyf them to no labour nor lernyng  
 whych brought them to myserable endyng  
 That in pouerte wrechydly dyd dye  
 Or fallyn to theft & hangyd therfore full hye.

'G. & N.' b. i.

And having shown the evil results of neglected education and training, the Rastellian Danio calls on the 'heads and rulers' to make good laws, execute them straitly and remove the cause of social ills by seeing to it that young folk are well brought up. Then he concludes :

Wherfore the eternall god that raynyth on hye  
 Send his mercefull grace & influens  
 To all gouernours that they circumspectly  
 May rule theyr inferiours by such prudence  
 To bryng them to vertew & dew obedyens  
 And that they & we all by his grete mercy  
 May be parteners of hys blessyd glory.

A M E N

Johēs rastell me imprimi fecit.

The resemblance of the moralizing addresses at the conclusion of 'Gentleness and Nobility' and 'Calisto and Melebea' with their exhortations to 'gouernors,' are altogether too striking to set aside. We are listening still to John Rastell 'singing again

his old song,' the song of which we are told in 1536 that Cranmer was 'awearie.'

But if Rastell created the 'Danio' close, he must have invented the dream; and here again the 'Boke of Purgatory' helps us. Rastell had views on dreams and visions which he sets forth at length in the sixth chapter of Book II. It is a long chapter, and we learn from it some unexpected things, such as that dogs and hogs do not dream in spite of their noises; but for our present purpose I will select a short passage:

Many a man in his dreame hath had dyuers vysyons /  
and hath forseen & had knowlege of thynges to come /  
whych hath afterwarde fallen playnly and truely accordyng  
to his vysyon.

Assuming therefore that we have good reason for attributing the unexpected dénouement and moral ending of the Comedy to Rastell, is there any of his handiwork in the body of the play, that is, in the translation? There is one passage at least that is striking; Calisto is complaining of the consuming fire of his love, when the translation ceases and we find the following passage intruded:

- C. And yf the fyre of purgatory bren in such wyse  
I had leuer my spirite in brute bestes shuld be  
Than to go thydyr and than to the deyte  
S. Mary Sir that is a spyce of heryse  
C. why so / S. For ye speke lyke no crystynman.

A similar reference to heresy occurs in 'G. & N.':

- Kt. Beware what ye sey sir now I aduyse you  
for it is treason or herysy that ye spek now.

But it is the possible reference to the Purgatory controversy and the Rastellian allusion to brute beasts that arrest us; for Rastell has much to say in the 'Boke of Purgatory' on the souls of brute beasts. He holds that they are not immortal. We are not, in that case, dealing with a Pythagorean allusion, but with an evidence of Rastell's influence.

Another case, which is equally striking, occurs in the translation itself. The Spanish (1502) reads:

No has leydo el filosofo do dize Assi como la materia apetece ala forma: assi la muger al varõ.

which Mabbe renders, 'Did you never read of that philosopher, where he tells you that, as the matter desires the form, so woman desires man?'

Now we have already seen that Rastell's view of nobility or worthiness was that it implied absence of dependence, need or desire (p. 8). So he changes the obvious translation to square with his own theory, and instead of woman desiring man, he renders it woman is less worthy or noble than man.<sup>2</sup>

Rastell doubtless had friends in the circle of More and Vives, as well as in Queen Katherine's household, who might do the translation, but the passage suggests that he revised it in his capacity as adapter.

<sup>1</sup> The proposition is common in scholastic philosophy. Chaucer has 'As matier apiteteth form alwey,' L. G. W., 1582. And Hoby's 'Courtier' has 'It is the opinion of most wise men that man is likened to the Form, the woman to the Mattier.'

<sup>2</sup> Phylozophers say the matter is less worthy  
Than the forme / so is woman to man surely (Cal. A. 4.)








The conclusion of my argument therefore is that John Rastell was certainly the author of the 'Four Elements,' and 'Gentleness and Nobility,' and I believe that he was the adapter or compiler of 'Calisto and Melebea.' Mr. Allen's argument that the Comedy was translated from the Spanish is well supported, but no one has yet, apparently, compared it with the French version of 1527. We have no evidence as to Rastell's knowledge of Spanish, but his French was good enough for anything. Baskervill's stimulating and suggestive little article on Rastell's Dramatic Activities (*Mod. Phil.* xiii, 1916)<sup>1</sup> comes near to stating my results. Rastell's stage in Finsbury Fields is a fact to be reckoned with.

It is, I think, becoming apparent that the break with the tradition of the allegorical morality and the rise of the freer forms of imaginative drama are connected in a remarkable way with that group of whom I have written in 'John Heywood and his Friends,' the circle of the Rastells, More and Heywood, and I think that it will be possible to show that the movement towards dramatic freedom began in the household in which More was brought up, the household of Cardinal Morton.

ARTHUR W. REED.

<sup>1</sup> The Rastell authorship of 'G. & N.' is ably maintained by Miss E. C. Dunn of Bryn Mawr (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* 1917).

## NOTES ON RARE BOOKS.

 HE / Foot-Post of Douer. / With his /  
 Packet stuf full of strange and / merry  
 Petitions. / London, / Printed by Edw:  
 Alde, and are to be solde by John  
 Deane, / dwelling iust vnder Temple  
 barre. 1616. /

Small quarto. Collation: title one leaf, verso blank, then B to G 4 in fours. The copy of this production now under consideration appears to be the only one known. It was in Corser's library, and appeared in Sotheby's rooms in 1870, when it was bought by Hazlitt and by him was handed on to Mr. Huth and from his collection came to me. It had previously appeared in the Jolley sale in 1843. In this copy there are inserted at the beginning, the title and next leaf of the 1613 edition, these leaves coming from an imperfect copy in the Heber sale in 1834, which was catalogued and sold as perfect, but was afterwards found to want sheet D. This fact was noted by Hazlitt in 1876. It will be seen that the 1613 title is differently worded from that of 1616, and on its verso there is a list of the thirteen petitioners. The next leaf of the 1613 edition, marked A 2, has on its recto an address 'To the Reader' which is signed 'Thine Anthony Nixon.' The name of

Nixon does not appear anywhere else in the volume, and consequently not at all in the 1616 edition. The verso of this leaf of address is blank. These two leaves are of considerable intrinsic interest, and there is no apparent reason for the elimination of the address 'To the Reader' from the 1616 issue.

The list of petitioners on the back of the earlier title is really an important feature, and would be of great assistance to the ordinary reader. The text, which is partly in verse and partly in prose, is printed both in black letter and in Roman type, and at the head of the first page is printed 'A Strange Foote post, with a Packet full of madde Petitions.' It will be observed that this wording is more like that of the 1613 title than that of the later one, but that it nevertheless contains some variations, for example, 'madde' for 'strange.' The paper throughout the book in the 1616 edition is of the same sort and is similar to that of the two inserted leaves. John Payne Collier in his 'Bibliographical Catalogue,' 1865, Vol. II, p. 52, gives an extended description of this work from the literary point of view and quotes in full the title of the 1613 issue, but he gives no bibliographical information, does not say whether he has seen a complete copy, and does not mention the existence of an edition of 1616.

There is a copy of the 1613 edition in the British Museum, and Lowndes notes the sale of two copies, one of which was the Heber example already mentioned. He does not mention the existence of a 1616 edition, and I can find no

A  
Straunge Foot-Post,  
*With*

A Packet full of Strange  
*Petitions.*

After a long Vacation for a good Terme.



Printed at London by E. A. dwelling neare  
Christ-Church. 1613.

# THE Foot-Post of Douer.

*With his*  
Packet stufte full of strange and  
merry *Petitions.*



LONDON,  
Printed by Edw: Allde, and are to be solde by Iohn Deane,  
dwelling iust vnder Temple barre. 1616.

record of it elsewhere. An examination of the Museum copy of 1613 shows that, except for the title leaf and the leaf of Address, the two issues of the book are absolutely identical, and everything points to the body of the book in both cases having been printed at the same time. The facts of the life of Nixon do not appear to be recorded with any accuracy or detail, and he is almost entirely known by his scanty publications beginning in 1602 and ending a dozen or so years afterwards. He was a considerable but not a frank plagiarist, and very little that he wrote has any literary merit; but, bibliographically speaking, all his publications are extremely scarce. The piece under consideration contains his best and most spontaneous writing, and here and there shows traces of poetic imagination. From it we can furthermore get glimpses of contemporary life, which in a way suggest a similarity to the contents of Dekker's 'English Villanies,' but Nixon's moralising lifts his work to a higher and perhaps slightly sanctimonious plane. As Collier points out, and as is evident to the reader, the first page contains a description of a flowery meadow in which there is considerable beauty of diction and imagery. Collier calls the writing 'pretty.' The two title-pages are here reproduced.

We may conclude from the evidence in our possession that in 1616, some of the sheets remaining in the publisher's hands, he wished to get rid of them, and in order to do so printed a new title, without troubling to reprint the list of petitioners and the address 'To the Reader.'

THE FIRST EDITION OF HERBERT'S 'TEMPLE,'  
1633.

How the tradition arose that the two or three undated copies of Herbert's 'Temple' which are so far known to have survived, represent what remains of a number of so-called presentation copies printed a year or two before the edition dated 1633, is at present not clear. One of these undated copies was sold in the Hoe Sale in New York in 1911, and another in the Huth Sale in London in 1913, and until the latter date neither copy seems to have been subjected to a careful examination. The undated issue is in all respects, except the title-page, exactly the same as the issue dated 1633, and the title differs only in having in the undated issue the words 'late Oratour of the Universitie of Cambridge' added after the words 'Mr. George Herbert,' and by having a different imprint with no date, but with the name of a bookseller added to the names of the printers. The absence of a printed date is not nearly so important as these additions, and the suspicion of bibliographers should have been aroused, for there was no apparent good reason for removing a bookseller's name, without substituting another, after it had once appeared on a title-page. However, as there were so few known copies of the undated edition of this book, the opportunities for examining any one of them would obviously be very infrequent, and bibliographers have consequently been at a disadvantage.

Soon after its appearance in the sale room, I assisted at an examination of the Huth copy, and the true state of affairs became manifest. The



undated title-page was found to be printed upon paper of which the wire marks ran perpendicularly to those of the next and all the other leaves of the book, these wire marks showed differences as to spacing compared with the other leaves, and the stump of the excised title was plainly visible. The undated title was therefore without any doubt a reprint, though a contemporary one, and for some reason the dated title had been removed. The question then arises as to why this substitution was made, and why the date was omitted. The solution of this problem brings us into the region of conjecture, into which even bibliographers may occasionally travel. My suggestion is that either the author or the printer objected to the dated title because it gave no information as to where the book might be bought, and that, therefore, a new title containing the name of 'Francis Green Stationer' was printed and was used in a certain number of cases. This change caused a crowding of type, in the imprint of such a small title with a heavy border, and therefore the date, coming last was omitted. The letter-press of the title, as a whole, is carefully arranged, and its symmetry would have been disturbed, if the date had been added after the word 'Cambridge,' or if '1633' had been given a line to itself. A new line for the date alone, would naturally only have caused more crowding. My explanation for the infrequent occurrence of the undated title is that the real second edition was ready for sale before there was time to use this reprinted title in any considerable number of copies, This second edition was also published in 1633, but

the type was entirely re-set, and bibliographically it is a new book.

Professor Palmer of Harvard is inclined to accept the conclusion as to priority of the dated edition here set forth, and he cites some of the evidence in his bibliography of Herbert's works. In consideration of the additional evidence now offered, he would perhaps consider the matter settled.

E. MARION COX.

## FIRST EDITIONS OF MODERN BOOKS.

**S**OME people are apt to scoff at the book-lover's pride in the possession of the first edition of any modern work, and to question the value, often very considerable, placed on copies of the *editio princeps* of a famous book. In the case of older books the steady decline in accuracy of each successive reprint is gradually being recognized, but for more modern masterpieces any copy which contains the author's full text is often regarded as all that is needed, and the later or most recent edition is preferred to the earlier one, especially if the former has been 'revised and corrected by the author.'

It is not, however, solely on account of its relative rarity that the first edition is coveted by the bibliographer; there are many cases in which the earlier issue is capable of solving questions as to date, which are of importance, or of bringing to light points that cannot be established from subsequent editions of the work. A comparison of the different issues may in some instances, moreover, reveal the workings of the author's mind, or enable deductions to be made concerning his original plan.

## FIRST EDITIONS OF MODERN BOOKS. 27

In order to illustrate these views, it may not be amiss to describe the first editions of certain famous and familiar books which will last as long as our language endures; books, moreover, which belong to our own era and which cannot, we think, fail to have countless admirers. Let us begin with 'The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,' the masterpiece of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The 'Autocrat' first made his bow in a guise that presents some difficulties to the bibliographer, and which deprives, what we desire to claim as the first edition, of the merit of being the earliest appearance of these essays in print, since the work, as many will probably know, was 'originally published in parts in 'The Atlantic Monthly' in 1857. There are those who would have us bind together extracts from the numbers of that magazine, in which the book was from time to time issued, prepare for them a special title-page, and regard the result as the first edition, and to these purists our present copy, published at Boston in 1858, would only be the 'first edition in book form.'

We are inclined to admit that in certain cases, as for example that of the immortal 'Pickwick Papers,' in which the work first came out in separate parts, not incorporated along with other matter in a periodical, these parts must be bound up together (with the wrappers preserved), in order to obtain a true first edition, but we think that when the publication originally took place as a series of magazine articles, the first issue of the complete work in the form of a book constitutes a genuine *editio princeps*. If this view is the correct

one, the neat little cloth-covered octavo now before us is the veritable first edition of 'The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.'

The title-page, very indifferently set out, is printed in alternate lines of red and black, with the motto in the centre in minute type: 'Every man his own Boswell.' The publishers are Phillips, Sampson and Company of Boston, and the date, 1858, is at the foot in Roman numerals. On the verso of the title-page is the copyright entry by the author 'in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts' and the imprint—'Riverside, Cambridge: stereotyped and printed by H. O. Houghton and Company.'

Perhaps the most notable feature of the book is what follows next: in the place where we might expect to encounter the preface is an article entitled: 'The Autocrat's Autobiography,'—which occupies four pages, numbered in Roman numerals (V) to VIII. This introductory matter is signed 'Oliver Wendell Holmes' and is dated 'Boston Nov. 1st 1858.' Then we have the charming disquisition itself, on pages (1) to 364, while the very copious index is contained on the remaining pages (365) to 373. The verso of the last leaf is blank, and finally appear two pages of advertisements of 'valuable books' issued by the above publishers. The end papers are also used to display the titles of more of the publications of the firm. The cover is of brown cloth, with a circular central panel, lettered 'Autocrat, P. S. and Co.' both on the upper and under sides. On the back, in gold, is the title in Gothic letters 'Autocrat / of the / Break-

fast / Table / Holmes,' the author's name being in Roman capitals.

This description of certain of the chief features of the book will be sufficient for the purposes of identification, without unduly tiring the reader with mere bibliographical details. We should perhaps add that the work contains eight illustrations by Hoppin on separate leaves, which are not numbered.

In the numerous English editions of this book, or at any rate in many of them which we have been able to consult, the 'Autocrat's autobiography' is absent, and is replaced by a brief life of the author. There is, however, no autobiography and no life in the first English issue, published by Alexr. Strahan and Co., in 1859, where the work is divided moreover into 'XII Breakfasts'! The story of the genesis of the book, which is thus lost to so many of the readers in this country, contains numerous features of interest, not the least of which is the fact that the title belongs properly to two articles, published by Holmes, so far back as November 1831 and February 1832, in the 'New England Magazine' of Boston. In his opening paragraph the Author of the 'Autocrat' tells us that he was going to say when he 'was interrupted, that one of the many ways of classifying minds is under the heads of arithmetical and algebraical intellects.' In the 'Autobiography' he announces that 'the interruption referred to in the first sentence of the first of these papers was just a quarter of a century in duration' and he proceeds to tell us of the earlier articles of 'his uncombed literary

boyhood.' From these he gives a few extracts, and he assures us that they will not be reprinted. He playfully speaks of the authorship of the former essays as follows: 'This son of mine, whom I have not seen for these twenty-five years, generously counted, was a self-willed youth, always too ready to utter his unchastised fancies. He, like too many American young people, got the spur when he should have had the rein. He therefore helped to fill the market with that unripe fruit which his father says in one of these papers abounds in the marts of his native country.'

It is delightful to find in a book which contains so much that is quotable such a full index. The reader can at once turn to the simile of the 'Huma' that 'odious fowl,' the Elzevir 'Erasmus,' with the names of its forgotten owners, or 'the schoolmistress' with her experiences of life and the episode at 'the long path.'

Somehow or other the illustrations will bring to many a reader a sense of disappointment, especially if they come before him after he has read and re-read these charming essays, without such aids to his imagination. Perhaps the best of them is the counterfeit presentment of 'Our Benj. Franklin,' the boy of the landlady, and 'The Deacon,' contemplating the design for 'the wonderful "one-hoss-shay."' Holmes has made many of these characters so real to us that we are liable to expect too much from the artist. The earliest illustrated edition in this Country was, we believe, that of Alexr. Strahan in 1865, with small woodcuts by J. G. Thomson.



We have lingered unduly long over the first of the books chosen, and we must examine our second treasure with less demands upon the readers' patience. Let us turn to another well known work, which also made its first appearance in a monthly magazine,—ten years before Holmes began to write,—namely the 'Confessions of an English Opium-eater' by Thomas De Quincey.

The forerunner of countless editions of this fragment of autobiography, after having passed through the pages of the 'London Magazine' in October and November 1821, was published in boards, as a small duodecimo volume, of which the following is the full title-page: 'Confessions / of an / English Opium-eater. / London: / Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street, / 1822.' / The imprint on the verso of the bastard-title is 'London:—Printed by J. Moyes, Greville Street.'

The work begins with a 'Notice to the Reader,' occupying two pages, (V) and VI, and dated at the end 'Oft. 1, 1821.' The 'Confessions' extend from page (1) to page 185, the verso of which is blank. Pages (187) to 206 are occupied by the 'Appendix,' which is end-dated 'Sept. 30th, 1822,' and is followed by 'The end.' At the foot of the page is the same imprint as that already quoted. The Appendix explains the reason for the non-appearance in the 'London Magazine' of a promised 'Third Part' and gives a medical account of his case, written by the author in the first person.

From the 'Notice to the reader' we learn that the period included in the narrative 'lies between the early part of July, 1802 and the beginning or

middle of March, 1803.' It may be interesting to bear in mind that from De Quincey's 'Suspiria de Profundis,' it would seem that 'the object of the work was to reveal something of the grandeur which belongs potentially to human dreams.' In what is called the 'Original Preface to the Confessions in the year 1821,' in the sixteen-volume edition of De Quincey's works, 'carefully revised by the Author, and greatly enlarged,' published by Adam and Charles Black of Edinburgh in 1862, we find that what the Author 'contemplated in these Confessions was to emblazon the power of opium—not over bodily disease and pain, but over the grander and more shadowy world of dreams.'

Few works with which we are acquainted have been more completely changed under the hands of their Author than these 'Confessions' have been, and even the 'Original Preface of 1821' as set forth in the edition of 1862 bears but a faint resemblance to that preface as it appears in the *editio princeps*, now before us: the words that we have quoted above are not to be found therein.

It is a matter of some difficulty to discover in the 'Confessions' of 1862 the true Confessions of 1821. Not only is the form of the narrative altered, but even the object with which it was written. We are not aware that any serious attempt has ever been made to trace the workings of De Quincey's mind in the changes that were from time to time effected in his wonderful essay, but the facts would we think well repay careful study. The Appendix of the first edition vanishes entirely later on, but we find some allusion to it in the 'Suspiria,' where

De Quincey says—‘At the close of this little work, the reader was instructed to believe and *truly* instructed that I had mastered the tyranny of opium.’ But he goes on to show that this was a fallacy and that he subsequently ‘became profoundly aware that this was impossible.’

It is in view of such changes as those undergone in later editions by the ‘Confessions of an English Opium-eater’ that the first edition possesses so many features of interest and importance, and we trust we may have here said enough to induce the courteous reader to bear with us in our deep admiration for the rare little book we have just been attempting to describe.

GILBERT R. REDGRAVE.

## THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES.

**E**LISHA COLES, lexicographer, stenographer and schoolmaster, has hitherto been considered a man of many activities. This is the less to be wondered at if it be recognised that under this unassuming exterior lies hid a dual identity.

Wood<sup>1</sup> is the first to attempt an account of him, and he and all his followers<sup>2</sup>—would-be correcters—have blundered hopelessly. The Dictionary of National Biography sets a seal upon these efforts.

From the beginning it has been realized that there were three Elisha Coles, all living at the same time, one a generation older than the others.

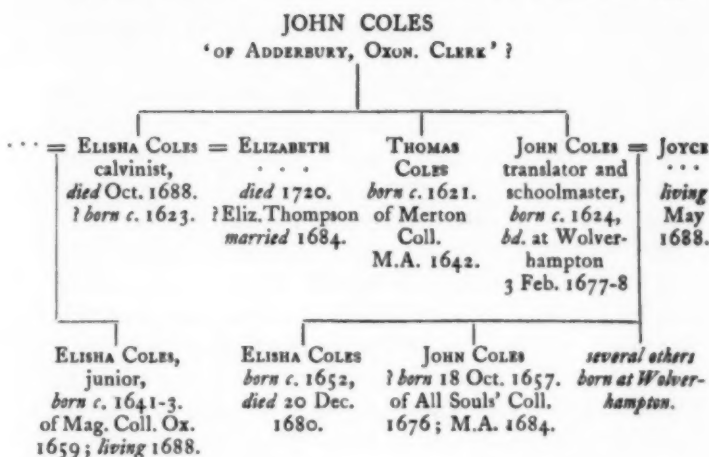
The following table will show the probable relationship of the different members of this family.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ath. Ox. iii, 1274.

<sup>2</sup> e.g., Foster, Alumni Oxon.; M. Burrows, Reg. of Visitors, p. 516; Robinson, Merch. Tayl. Sch. Reg. i, 263; Mander, Hist. Wolverhampton Gr. Sch., p. 145; etc.

<sup>3</sup> (1) Thomas and John are given in 'Foster' as sons of John Coles 'of Adderbury, Oxon. clerk.' The vicars of Adderbury during this period were Christopher Budd, 1596; William Oldys, 1626; and William Baker, 1645; so there is no room for John Coles here. Neither was he the John Coles, rector of Maydwell, N'hants, whose will was proved at Northampton in 1671. (2) Elisha Coles senior's position rests on the testimony of Wood. He is probably the widower of that name who, aged 'about 60,' in 1684 was about to marry Elizabeth Thompson, of Tangier Park, Hampshire, spinster, aged about 40. (Marriage Alleg., Harl. Soc. Pub. vol. xxx, p. 160.) (3) For John and Joyce, see Mander, Hist. of Wolverhampton Gr. Sch.

# THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES. 35



Of Elisha Coles, the elder, author of a much sold work, 'A Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty' (1674), few doubts arise. He found favour during the Commonwealth in Oxfordshire; <sup>1</sup> was appointed (1657) steward at Magdalen College, and afterwards held a place in the East India Company's service, finally to be buried, says Wood, in London 'in some yard or other belonging to fanatics.'

Very different was the career of his brother or kinsman John, the translator of 'Cléopâtre' (parts iv, v and viii), the writer of an extraordinary school-book (1666) and the headmaster of Wolverhampton Grammar School, 1658-78. A staunch royalist, he was expelled from New College in May, 1648,

<sup>1</sup> The following facts have escaped the D.N.B. In April, 1650, he was appointed clerk to the Oxford Committee for Compounding. In October, 1659, he was one of the Oxfordshire Commissioners for Sequestrations. (State P. Dom. Cal. Com. for Compounding, i, p. 194, 757.)

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and he had many crosses to bear before he completed his pilgrimage.

For various reasons Wolverhampton looked coldly upon him, and he confesses (1672) that he was fated 'to receive but small encouragement' from the inhabitants. 'I shall only beg of you,' he writes to his patrons, the Merchant Taylors' Company, 'that you would be pleased to make my life a little comfortable, [he was asking for money] that I may not be exposed to the affront of those that bear me ill will. . . . I hope there is none that can justly blemish my life and conversation, and if there be any thing amisse, as I acknowledge my selfe subject to humane frailties, I shall endeavour through God's gracious assistance to reforme and amend it to the utmost of my power.'

From these two pedants Elisha Coles II and III are sprung.

The following works appear in the Term Catalogues and are ascribed by Professor Arber to Elisha Coles, the 'younger.' The two, marked \*, being anonymous, have been recognized as Coles' (correctly, it would appear) since the time of Wood, and so find their place in the list:

*Licensed.*

1. 1670, Nov. The English Dictionary, or an Expositor of Hard English Words, newly refin'd. . . . Printed for W. Miller. 12mo.

(This is listed as a reprint, and it may be doubted whether the ascription of Coles is correct.)

2. 1671, Nov. *χριστολογία*, or A Metrical Paraphrase on the History of our Lord. . . . Printed for Peter Parker. 8vo.

# THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES. 37

*Licensed.*

3. 1673, Nov. The compleat English Schoolmaster, or The most natural and easie method of spelling English according to the present proper pronounciation of the Language in *Oxford* and *London*. . . . Printed for Peter Parker. 8vo.
4. 1674, May. The newest, plainest, and the shortest, Short-hand: . . . By E. Coles, School-master in *Russel street*, by *Covent Garden*. . . . Printed for Peter Parker. 8vo.
5. 1675, June. *Nolens, Volens*, or you shall make Latin, whether you will or no! . . . Together with the Youth's visible *Bible*; . . . Illustrated with twenty-four Copper Plates. . . . Printed for T. Basset and H. Brome. 8vo.
6. 1675, Nov. \**Syncriis*, or the most natural and easie method of learning Latin by comparing it with English. Together with the holy History of Scripture War. . . . illustrated in fourteen Copper Plates. . . . Printed for T. Drant and T. Lacey. 8vo.
7. 1676, Nov. An English Dictionary: explaining the difficult Terms that are used in Divinity, Husbandry, Physick, Philosophy, Law, Navigation, Mathematicks, and other Arts and Sciences: . . . By E. Coles. Printed for Peter Parker. 8vo.
- 1677, July. *Nolens, Volens* [as before].
8. 1677, Nov. A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English; . . . all suited to the meanest capacities, in a plainer method than heretofore. . . . By Elisha Coles, late of *Magdalen Coll., Oxon*. Sold by P. Parker, and T. and J. Guy. 8vo.

### 38 THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES.

*Licensed.*

1679, Feb. The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, in a Metrical Paraphrase [&c.]. . . . By Elisha Coles, late of *Magd. Coll., Oxon.* Printed for P. Parker. 8vo.

(Another edition is recorded for 1682.)

1682, Nov. *Nolens, Volens.* Third Edition.

9. 1687, Nov. The Pen's most easie and exact improvement; teaching to spell, read, and write, true English in a most compendious Method, delightful, profitable, and in a short time to be attained. . . . Also plain Rules for Arithmetick in several Examples. The whole Book being engraven upon Copper Plates . . . and printed in red for the Learner's ease. By the Author of *Nolens, Volens.* Quarto. Printed for T. Howkins.

10. 1704, Nov. \*The Young Scholar's best Companion, Or A new Spelling-Book, from the A. B. C. to the Grammar. . . . [&c. &c. including 'a Chronicle of the Kings and Queens of *England* to the Reign of Queen *Anne.*'] 12mo. The Third Edition.

(This is probably another edition of the book mentioned by Wood and D.N.B.)

1707, Feb. The newest, plainest, and best, Short-hand extant. . . . By E. Coles, late School-master in *Russel Court.*

(Thus the Term Cat., but the title-page of this (the tenth) edition, says 'Russel-Street, by Covent Garden,' as before).

Of the above, numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10, are credited to an all-embracing Elisha Coles (1640?-80) in D.N.B., and no suspicions are aroused; but when 'the Pen's most easie and exact



## THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES. 39

improvement' of 1687 appears—not, evidently, as a reprint—difficulties at once begin. In the absence of contrary evidence the word of the title-page must be accepted, and the book must be allowed to an Elisha Coles who was living in 1687. This distinction applies to Elisha, son of Elisha, and not to Elisha, son of John, who died, as will be seen, in 1680.

Arguing back from this, 'Nolens, Volens' falls to the same hand. This is a book which calls for some notice. Its remarkable title would alone go a long way to making it famous<sup>1</sup> long after buyers, which at one time were many, had ceased to demand it. Yet many a youthful scholar (unlike the studious model of the frontispiece) must, after a brief scrutiny, have found its promises frail and disappointing, and the road to knowledge beset with old familiar obstacles.

Pictured school-books had now become the fashion, but this one gives peculiar touches of the author's own.

'The principal I go upon,' he writes to the Reader, 'is that most Rational one of SYNCRISIS; that is, Comparing of one Language with another. . . . The Matter is such as is most agreeable to CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS: And being adorned with such variety of Pleasant Emblems, it must needs be so much the more delightful to the younger Sort. For the main Design of it is to present you both with Profit and Pleasure in a Dish.' He also

<sup>1</sup> It had its imitators. In 1694 one, Thomas Cross, produced: 'Nolens, Volens, or you shall learn to play on the Violin, whether you will or no!' (Term Catalogue.)

#### 40 THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES.

betrays his anxiety for a perfect English-Latin Dictionary, 'a thing of greater moment than many apprehend,' but ends in promising 'a more Particular Discourse upon that Subject, if God grant life and Opportunity.'

Here Coles clearly avows his interest in the long popular 'English-Latin Dictionary' of 1677, and this in turn connects him with Magdalen College, Oxford. [No. 8.]

To him therefore fall 'The Harmony of the Four Evangelists' (1679), which is a new edition of the *χριστολογία*, and, as a Londoner who knew the Oxford tongue, 'The Compleat English Schoolmaster' of 1673. [No 3.]

He has already hinted at the part he played in 'Synecrisis,' and in it he tells how he had practised this principle in teaching for above twenty years, and in teaching Latin for about fourteen. This brings him back to his own school-days, and to the year when Oxford ceased to shelter him.

So far we can trace him by this slender chain. Then who was his father? John or Elisha?

It may be granted that with the puritan Elisha Coles, steward of Magdalen College, there were expectations of his son appearing there as soon as an opportunity presented itself. There is also no visible likelihood of this narrow-minded gentleman favouring the arrival of a royalist nephew, even if the difficulty of this kinsman being an infant of tender years be successfully overcome. Here is certainly a *prima facie* case for fathering the youthful Elisha Coles, of Magdalen College, upon the Cromwellian Calvinist. The son only entered as chorister

## THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES. 41

(1658-61) and it would be kind, perhaps, to place the compilation of those laboured lines, his elementary collection of 'harmonies,' at this early stage of his career. But this is the modern judgment of those who discern in it 'ridiculous doggerel,' and not of an age which tolerated three editions.

After he had left Oxford, his father would seem first to have apprenticed him,<sup>1</sup> and never to have had him entirely independent of parental disbursements. It is only possible in addition to allow him the authorship of the curious and even useful English Dictionary [No. 7] which, besides giving undue prominence to Magdalen College (by neglecting to mention most others), styles him 'E. Coles, School-Master, and Teacher of the English Tongue to Forreigners,'<sup>2</sup> an occupation which the title-pages of each reprint give him for sixty years to come.

As to the author of the Short-hand [No. 4] there is little evidence in favour of either Elisha Coles. It was indeed published by Peter Parker, but the title-page is peculiar in styling him (1674) 'School-master in Russel Street.' That he is called 'Schoolmaster' does not help, for both the Elisha Coles were schoolmasters!

The career of Elisha Coles (son of John) may now be scrutinized in its turn.

Facts point to his birth coinciding with the time of his father's appearance as First-Undermaster at the Merchant Taylors' School in 1652. A later

<sup>1</sup> In his will, dated 7th October, 1686, he leaves his 'son Elisha £40, he having already received from me £380 since the expiration of his apprenticeship'—whenever that may have been. But in his Dictionary, *Apprentice* = 'learner,' simply.

<sup>2</sup> 1685 Edition.

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date, up to 1654, is possible. A deciding factor is the misunderstood entry in the register of new boys in that school where 'Elisha Coles' appears on 11th March, 1663-4, without additional information, but among the names of lads ranging from ten to fourteen years of age. The editor comments: 'One of these names (perhaps the father) was Under-Master of Merchant Taylors' School in 1677, and resigned in 1678, and was probably of Magdalen College, Oxford in 1659.' There is no help here!

The volume of the Merchant Taylors' Court minutes covering the years 1656-63 has long been missing, else further light might have been expected. But when another son of John Coles in due time makes his appearance here,<sup>1</sup> doubts are dispelled. It must be concluded that this Elisha was John Coles' son, fresh from his father's school at Wolverhampton, taken thence for his better advancement by the Merchant Taylors at the age of some ten years or more.<sup>2</sup>

Afterwards he became a schoolmaster, for the next time he appears is in February, 1677, when he 'was a Suitor to be School Master of Wolverhampton School in the roome of his late Father decd.' [Merchant Taylors' Records.] In this

<sup>1</sup> John Coles, who is registered under September, 1672 (Robinson, i, 276), and doubtless the student (afterwards M.A.) at All Souls' whom the Merchant Taylors helped (as John's son) in 1679.

<sup>2</sup> To place the date of his birth too early would call for a youthful and most unwise marriage on the part of the father, and a gap of some years without apparent offspring, of which from 1658 there was a very regular succession as the Wolverhampton Parish Registers testify.

## THE IDENTITY OF ELISHA COLES. 43

matter the Merchant Taylors could not favour him. He was clearly unsuitable: he had no degree; little experience; was too young for so grave a post; and however much they were willing to oblige they dared not displease the inhabitants—touchy on this subject—by selecting a master of unproved ability. On this occasion Elisha was paid '40s. for his charges to Oxford' which, mystifying in itself, may point to a journey up to London from that city for an interview. He was not, however, forgotten. He received the humbler place of Second-Undermaster at the Merchant Taylors' School on 3rd August, 1677,<sup>1</sup> but his tenure of this post was of short duration. On 14th December, 1678, writing from Dublin,<sup>2</sup> he resigned the place having 'without any seeking,' though not against his inclinations, obtained a better. For, as he writes to his former patrons, he 'most willingly, and heartily' placed his resignation in their hands 'humbly beseeching your Worships to put a favourable construction upon what I have done, and to believe that I aime at nothing more than to serve God comfortably and faithfully in my generation.'

His new post was the Mastership of Erasmus Smyth's School at Galway. Two years later, it would appear, he died.

In 1820, when Hardiman wrote his History of Galway, a scarcely legible gravestone in the south

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Hist., p. 1183. In his list of these ushers Wilson hazards the description 'B.A. of the University of Oxford.'

<sup>2</sup> The letter is printed in full in Mander's Hist. of Wolverhampton Gr. Sch., p. 156.

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aisle of St. Nicholas' Church imparted the following curious information :

Here lieth the Body of Elisha Coles, Master of Arts and of the Languages, and late Master of the Free-School of Galway, who died 20th day of December, Anno Domini, 1680. [p. 252.]

As he did not graduate at Oxford or Cambridge, and as his name is not found on the books of Trinity College, Dublin, it may be assumed that the tombstone recorded an honorary degree, an expression of the esteem in which Galway held him. Support for the date of his death is lacking: 'there is no church register of that period, nor can his will be found at Dublin. At the date of his death he would have been about 28.

The portrait which appears with the 1707 edition of the 'Shorthand,' shews a plump young clergyman of uncertain age; the likeness is probably not a good one and the whole may be fictitious.

To sum up: there seems no reason for attributing the majority of the books to Elisha Coles, son of John; nor for placing the date of his birth so early as 1640 so as to enable him to attend Magdalen College in 1658.

Conversely, it is probable that Elisha Coles, 'junior' of the D.N.B. did indeed write most of the books, was consequently born about 1643, went to Magdalen College, and was living as late as 1688.

GERALD MANDER.

<sup>1</sup> It is somewhat to be desired, for Hardiman indiscretely mentions (p. 89) a translation of a charter made for the Corporation by Elisha Cole, M.A., in the year 1693!

## SOME RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

**M**Y senses tell me that the skies are gloomy and the temperature low, yet I feel that I have been spending the afternoon in a punt in a Thames back-water, enjoying the pleasant idleness engendered by fine warm summer weather. Such is the illusion produced on me by the reading of Anatole France's latest book 'Le petit Pierre.' It is sheer delight from beginning to end, though it only records the first ten years of Pierre's existence. Little Pierre was an only child, living with his parents in Paris; he had no companions of his own age and lived in an imaginary world that bore no relation to reality. Most children, doubtless, do this to some extent, but few grow up—for I shrewdly suspect the little Pierre to be the little Anatole—to possess the literary genius that enables them to give expression, I think I may say without placing the book too high, for all time to these childish imaginings. There is what first and foremost makes the literary value and charm of the book. But an added delight, and for some it will come first, is the ironical comment running through the narrative, of a kind that belongs peculiarly to Anatole France. It is here accompanied by an undertone of reverie and reflection induced by the ripe



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experience of years. In recording, for instance, how his mother's love exaggerated both his good qualities and his faults, he says this would have rendered him excessively scrupulous had he not made for his own use 'une morale indulgente. . . . Ceux-là seuls sont doux à autrui qui sont doux à eux-mêmes.'

To the imaginative child everything was a delight: shopping with his mother, the echoes of the revolution of '48 which reached his home, —he was 4 years old—a visit to the seaside, or to the attic where Mélanie the *bonne* slept, the little chimney-sweep, a chance encounter on the staircase with Rachel, the great actress.

Pierre's early education was chiefly derived from his mother, but when he reached the age of 7 or 8 it was thought advisable to supplement it, and with some difficulty, for Pierre's father was rich only in 'idées' and 'sentiments,' the ministrations of a fashionable and expensive governess were secured. That lady spent the time—Pierre's mother never interrupted the lessons—writing interminable love-letters, telling her pupil to read La Fontaine's fables to himself. She was young and beautiful, and the child fell in love with her. She never spoke a single word to him, nor during the ten months that the lessons lasted did she betray the slightest interest in her pupil. Had she done so, the charm might have been broken, for what made her adorable to the child, almost as much as her beauty, was her indifference.

'Cette indifférence était infinie et divine. . . . J'éprouvai à huit ans que bien heureux est celui qui, cessant de penser et de comprendre, s'abîme dans la contempla-



tion de la beauté ; et il me fut révélé que le désir infini, sans crainte et sans espoir, et qui s'ignore, apporte à l'âme et aux sens une joie parfaite, car il est à lui-même son entier contentement et sa pleine satisfaction. Mais cela, je l'avais bien oublié à dix-huit ans ; et depuis, je n'ai jamais pu le rapprendre complètement.'

When his parents asked him how he was getting on, he made some evasive answer, fearing the spell might be broken. The episode of Mademoiselle Mèrelle is perhaps the best piece of childish psychology in the book.

At length little Pierre is sent to school. His parents felt he was too old to be about all day with the *bonne* and too young to read all the books that chanced to be in his way. 'Hier,' said his father, who was a doctor, 'je l'ai trouvé plongé dans un traité d'obstétrique.' He goes first to a preparatory school where he begins Latin, and is ravished by the early legendary history of Rome, and then to the college. The state of his mind when he became a 'collégien' at the age of ten is thus depicted :

'Je n'avais nulle envie de briller, sur ces bancs tachés d'encre, car, à dix ans j'étais sans ambition. Je n'en avais d'ailleurs nul espoir. . . . J'étais résigné à n'être pas un élève brillant et je me disposais, dès mon entrée au collège, à chercher ce qui pouvait, dans ma nouvelle existence, me donner quelque distraction. Tels étaient mon naturel et mon génie, et je n'ai jamais changé. J'ai toujours su me distraire ; ce fut tout mon art de vivre.'

The first day, the professor gave out the list of books to be procured, among them 'Esther' and

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'*Athalie*.' To the little boy these were merely the proper names of women :

'Aussitôt je vis devant moi, dans un vague délicieux, deux femmes gracienses, vêtues comme sur les images, qui se tenaient par la taille et qui se disaient des choses que je n'entendais pas, mais je devinais touchantes et jolies. La chaire et le professeur, le tableau noir, les murs gris avaient disparu. Les deux femmes marchaient lentement dans un étroit sentier entre des champs de blé, fleuris de bleuets et de coquelicots, et leurs noms chantaient à mes oreilles : Esther et *Athalie*.'

His hopes ran high of great pleasure to come, and he was plunged into the depths of disappointment when on the arrival of the books he found that '*Esther*' and '*Athalie*' were two separate compositions and in verse. 'On sait que tout ce qui est écrit en vers se comprend mal et n'intéresse pas.' He shut the book and swore he would never open it again. But although he refused to learn *Esther's* prayer by heart, he did not keep his word, and the chapter ends with a fine eulogy of Racine. 'Aujourd'hui, je sais Racine par cœur, et il m'est toujours nouveau.' He places Racine above Corneille and Molière, above Sophocles and Shakespeare as 'le plus profond comme le plus pur des tragiques.'

The volume ends with the boy's delight at acquiring a room of his own :

'J'avais une manière d'être, une existence propre. . . . Cette chambre, je ne la trouvais pas belle ; je ne pensais pas un moment qu'elle dût l'être ; je ne la trouvais pas laide ; je la trouvais unique, incomparable. Elle me séparait de l'univers, et j'y retrouvais l'univers.'

It is impossible to do justice to the book in a brief sketch. To appreciate it fully it should be read slowly, 'dégusté,' like some rare wine; the points of irony slyly scattered up and down the pages emerge into view and impress themselves on our consciousness often unexpectedly and always aptly. The common humanity of the narrative, the masterly portrayal of the calm, even ordinary home life which goes its way side by side with the intense imaginative life on the child's part stand out on every page. The style

'Tho' deep, yet clear; tho' gentle, yet not dull;  
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full,'

is unsurpassable. We look forward eagerly to further instalments of little Pierre's (or little Anatole's) career.

At the present time when women are being more and more absorbed in occupations and interests outside the home, it is well that Henry Bordeaux should in 'Les Pierres du Foyer, Essai sur l'histoire littéraire de la famille française,' remind us of the important part played by the French family and 'foyer' in the history and progress of the country and the race. The book contains eight lectures delivered by M. Bordeaux in 1912 and 1913, in which he shows the large place occupied by the family in French literature from early times until our own day. The first lecture on 'Art and the Family' was introduced by Paul Bourget in a brief speech on 'la littérature sociale.' He named Balzac as perhaps its greatest exponent, and drew a useful distinction between

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the 'roman à idées' which 'démontre,' and is a work of research, and the 'roman à thèse' which 'montre sans dégager la signification de ce qu'il montre,' and is a work of argumentation.

The text of M. Bordeaux's discourses is 'une patrie est une assemblée de foyers. L'idée de foyer est inséparable de l'idée de patrie.' He demonstrates how the French family has written its own history in the old 'ménagers' or 'livres de raison' formerly kept by gentry, bourgeois, tradesmen, landowners and simple peasants alike. At first mere account books, containing only details concerning the administration of the domain, there was soon inscribed in them the dates of marriages, births and deaths, and later the entries were accompanied by comments and remarks. Bordeaux quotes from one dating just after the conclusion of the Franco-German War, 1870-71.

Such documents do not necessarily rank as literature, though they offer authentic portraits of the French family. When, however, we turn to French literature itself, from the earliest times to the present day, we find the great writers insisting on the effects of early training in the home, of the discipline, the finest and most useful of all discipline, perhaps, of growing up as a member of a large family ruled by a wise father and a loving mother. Such views and subjects are not to seek even in the *Chansons de Geste*s and other works of the middle age. They enter into the poems of Villon, 'prince des apaches d'autrefois.' He there renders immortal 'la povre femme' who was his mother, and we see 'dans l'ombre où elles se

cachent, les bonnes femmes dévouées, les bonnes femmes sacrifiées qui sont le cœur de France.' Ronsard teaches the same lesson, so do Rabelais, Montaigne and Mme. de Sévigné. In modern times Lamartine, Balzac, François Coppée, Mistral, Maurice Barrès, Louis Mercier and Francis Jammes are among the best exponents of the same creed. The poets among them express 'Le bonheur que Dieu donne à la vie ordinaire.'

Bordeaux strikes a wise note of warning where he points out that no system of education, however admirable, can supply 'l'observation directe, quotidienne et rapprochée du père et de la mère.' More and more, here in England, we see parents leave everything to the school, even when it is a question of those attending day schools and living at home. This shifting of responsibility can scarcely be entirely good. In his literary examples Bordeaux clearly shows what great writers and poets have owed to their home. The whole matter of the 'foyer' in France, and in our country too, is closely bound up with questions of wages, housing, and marriage conditions and possibilities, and it would do our rulers and statesmen no harm when dealing with them to pay some attention to traditionalism and to make themselves acquainted with the subject as set forth in the great literature of the past.

Joseph Joubert is known to most of us solely by his 'Pensées' published by Chateaubriand fourteen years after Joubert's death. André Beaunier, who has had access to Joubert's papers, has set himself to compile a detailed biography of the strange being—'une âme qui a rencontré par hasard un

corps et qui s'en tire comme elle peut.' Although born in 1754, and dying in 1824, Joubert made it his business never to perceive periods of agitation—and there were many during his life—so that he could meditate and possess his soul in peace. Yet towards the end of his days he seems to have begun to realize the fallacy of such a state of mind, for he wrote:

'Quiconque vit dans des temps incertains a beau être ferme, invariable dans ses principes, il ne peut pas l'être dans toutes leurs applications; ferme dans ses plans, dans sa marche, il ne pourra garder toujours ni les mêmes résolutions ni les mêmes chemins. Il faut qu'il abandonne aux vents (cela veut dire aux circonstances) quelques parties de lui-même.'

He never passed a day without writing, yet he sought truth, not to spread it abroad—he was no apostle—but to possess it himself; he loved perfection for its own sake and tried to be what he dreamed. His aim of perfection hindered accomplishment, for his ceaseless activity of mind produced only ideas, marvellous ideas, it is true, which he clothed in admirable and unforgettable phrases. But there is no continuity in what he wrote. He enjoyed intuition and was frankly bored by deduction. This probably denotes a certain indolence of mind. Yet the world owes so much to its thinkers that this biography of one of them who lived almost wholly within himself, and is therefore little known as a man even to his most fervent admirers, will be gladly welcomed.

More and more does it seem that French writers set themselves to glorify 'les vieux petits pays' of

their land, keeping clearly in view the fact that they are all united in love of the 'grande patrie.' 'Le poème du Bugey' is a poem of regionalism. The author is Pierre Aguétant. In a preface by Georges Normandy he is compared to Burns, and it is known that Faguet predicted great things of him. The basic idea of Aguétant's work is that when a man possesses a cottage and a garden, he is guaranteed independence, dignity and calm, and has also secured 'le sentiment de son être, la conscience de son pouvoir et aussi l'intuition d'une limite dans l'infini.' Although Aguétant can scarcely claim the spontaneity and universality of Burns, he writes poems of great charm and brings out the special beauty of the district he paints; he fully carries out his own description of the subject of his verse:

'Deux ou trois gouttes de rosée,  
Les plis d'un bourgeon entr'ouvert,  
Le vol d'une aile à la croisée  
Sont les syllabes de mes vers.

'Un angélus qui se recueille,  
Le murmure des firmaments,  
La voix du vent de feuille en feuille,  
Voici le rythme de mon chant.'

The greater number of French books issued from the press still continue to be chiefly concerned with the war and war conditions. As most of them were finished before the armistice, a sense of incompleteness hangs about them that detracts from their worth and interest. The criticism applies whether they are poems, novels, plays, character



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sketches, or historical works. But there is one class of French war books of which we have no counterpart in this country, and for good reason, that deserve careful reading and study. I mean those that describe the sufferings endured by the inhabitants of the invaded and devastated regions, or by those towns like Nancy and Reims, continuously under bombardment from aeroplanes and long range guns during the whole period of the war. Those who deem the armistice terms too harsh should study these books, of which several are included in the list below.

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The following recently published books deserve attention :

Nancy bombardée. Par René Mercier. Préface de G. Simon, Maire de Nancy. (Berger-Levrault.)

The author, who is the director of the Nancy newspaper, 'L'Est républicain,' gives his work the sub-title 'Journal d'un bourgeois de Nancy.' He tells indeed a moving tale of the horrors inaugurated by the enemy of sending 'au hasard des bombes sur une cité populeuse,' and rightly characterizes such an act as 'un assassinat.' The courage of the inhabitants under the heavy affliction was admirable in every way.

Petits images du temps de guerre. Par André Warnod. Avec 43 dessins de l'auteur. (Berger-Levrault.)

Short sketches accompanied by capital drawings of the various nationalities engaged in the fighting, and of the



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aspect of towns like Paris, Rouen and Havre during the war.

L'Assaut contre Verdun. Par E. Diaz-Retg. (Colin.)

The work of a Spanish writer translated into French by Gabriel Ledos, with a preface by Maurice Barrès, who declares that the careful study of the defence of Verdun made Diaz-Retg 'un croyant de la cause et du triomphe des alliés.' The book, be it said, was written and published before that triumph was assured. The volume contains fourteen excellent maps, a full index, a table of the regiments, both French and German, engaged, and should prove most useful to future historians of the war.

L'Europe et la France de 1871 à 1914. Par J. Toutain. (Belin frères.)

A series of lectures dealing with 'les causes lointaines et immédiates de la guerre actuelle.' The little volume of some ninety pages forms a most useful exposition of the events leading up to the war.

Les Rapatriés. Par René Benjamin. (Berger-Levrault.)

One of the volumes of the 'Collection France,' and a poignant sketch of the arrival at Évian of the women, children and old men 'rapatriés' from the invaded districts of France by the Germans.

Dans les camps de représailles. Par Jean-Jules Dufour. Préface de René Doumic. Dessins de l'auteur.

The veritable experiences of a prisoner of war in Germany. As Doumic says, 'de ces faits racontés avec

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une absolue simplicité ressort le plus formidable requi-  
toire contre un peuple.' The author, son of the poet,  
Philippe Dufour, is a painter and engraver, and the  
drawings which accompany his narrative are admirable.

Notre-Dame du Faubourg. Par Jean Morgan.

An excellent study in the form of a novel of the  
inhabitants of a poor suburb of Paris, and of the good  
work done by the priests of the church of the district.  
The author's point of view may be judged from the  
following passage that occurs near the end of the book :  
'Toutes ces églises des faubourgs, où des prêtres donnaient  
chaque jour au peuple leur pensée et leur énergie au nom  
du seigneur, formaient autour de Paris qui travaille et se  
livre au plaisir une couronne mystique. Elles étaient sa  
protection trop souvent méconnue mais réelle. Chacun  
d'elles était un foyer spirituel qui rayonnait sur les âmes,  
assainissait moralement le quartier qui l'entourait et le  
justifiait devant Dieu.

ELIZABETH LEE.

‘AD IMPRIMENDUM SOLUM.’

**I**N ‘Modern Language Notes’ for February, 1919, Miss Evelyn May Albright, who has been working for some years on the regulation of the press in England during the sixteenth century, advances reasons for dissenting from an interpretation of mine of the words *ad imprimendum solum* in the Proclamation of Henry VIII for the bringing in of seditious books (16th November, 1538). The section of the proclamation in which the words occur reads as follows:

Item that no persone or persons in this realme, shall from hensforth print any boke in the englyshe tonge, onles vpon examination made by some of his gracis priuie counsaile, or other suche as his highnes shall appoynte, they shall haue lycence so to do, and yet so hauynge, not to put these wordes *Cum priuilegio regali*, without addyng *ad imprimendum solum*, and that the hole copie, or els at the least theeffect of his license and priuilege be therwith printed, and playnely declared and expressed in the Englyshe tonge vnderneath them.

The comment on this which Miss Albright combats occurs in an article on the Regulation of the Book-trade (‘THE LIBRARY’ 3rd Series, Vol. VII, pp. 22-24), reprinted in my ‘Shakespeare’s Fight with the Pirates’ (pp. 6 *sq.*). It reads:

Incidentally we may note that while a distinction appears to be drawn between a licence and a privilege, the one

word 'priuilegium' seems to be used as a Latin equivalent for both. Every book, as I understand the proclamation required a licence; but this licence was not to be paraded by the use of the words 'Cum priuilegio regali' without these words being limited and restricted by the addition 'ad imprimendum solum.' These must, therefore, be construed 'only for printing,' i.e. not for protection, unless this was expressly stated, in which case the 'licence' was raised to the higher rank of a 'privilege.' The words 'ad imprimendum solum' have been generally interpreted as equivalent to 'for sole, or exclusive, printing.' Whether or not they can legitimately bear this meaning in Tudor Latin is perhaps doubtful. It seems quite clear from this Proclamation that this is not the meaning they were intended to bear; but so far from the Proclamation in this respect attaining its end, it seems pretty certain that it intensified the very misconception which its authors tried to remove.

Miss Albright opens her friendly attack by writing:

I cannot agree with Mr. Pollard in his innovation, because I see nothing in the proclamation to warrant such an interpretation, and because his reading makes nonsense of the royal patents themselves, as we shall see in several examples. I cannot find an instance when the phrase seems to me to mean 'only for printing,' rather than 'for printing *sole*,' which is, I believe the natural interpretation of the words, as based on their use.

She proceeds to buttress her pretty idiom 'for printing sole' by quotations from the Oxford English Dictionary ('Enything by us to hym graunted soule,' 1450; 'the said Duke is sole seised in eny Castelles,' 1477; 'the intollerable licenses of Monopoles and Solesales,' 1596; 'the privilege of the

sole printing of the Bible,' 1621), which are not quite so pretty. As regards the wording of actual privileges she begins with Palsgrave's seven year privilege, printed in the 1530 Folio of 'Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoise,' which, as she notes, 'does not contain the phrase in question, but, like other privileges, charges and commands all subjects that none print or cause to be printed any books after the copy of this work,' and proceeds to quote a number of privileges of 1563, 1591, 1617, 1626, etc. These do expressly grant an exclusive right which in the latest of them is described as 'for the sole Selling and Printing of such Bookes.' But here Miss Albright is only forcing an open door. It is indisputable that both before and after the proclamation of 1538, Privileges did in fact confer exclusive rights, and were obtained for the purpose of preventing other printers from reprinting the book during the period which the privilege specified. If Miss Albright can show that before 1538 this right was usually conveyed by a privilege defined as 'ad imprimendum solum' she will have proved her case up to the hilt. If she can produce even a single example of the phrase before 1538 she will have gone far towards proving it. But no number of instances of how the phrase was interpreted from twenty-five to eighty-eight years later is evidence as to what was meant in 1538. It is expressly admitted in the passage which Miss Albright attacks that the phrase 'ad imprimendum solum' was generally misunderstood, and 'intensified the very misconception which its authors tried to remove.'

The only evidence which counts as to the meaning of the phrase as it occurs in the Proclamation is (i) the history of the proclamation itself, (ii) proof of how it was understood at the time. As regards the first point, in a paper read to the Bibliographical Society last December, Mr. A. W. Reed showed that that the words 'onles . . . they shall haue lycence so to do and yet so hauyng nott to put thes words cum priuilegio regali w<sup>t</sup> owght adding ad imprimendum solum' were introduced into the draft by Henry VIII. Mr. Reed discovered this from the proclamation itself, which is preserved in the British Museum. Miss Albright had already learnt it from Strype. Now if 'ad imprimendum solum' could be shown to have been a phrase already in use, it might be supposed that the King quoted it as a phrase, and it would be unreasonable to detach 'solum' from its gerund. But if the phrase was a new phrase then we must construe it in connection with its original context, and the main point becomes what was Henry VIII's object. Clearly he was not thinking of the interests of the printers, of how desirable it was to encourage them to print books by protecting them from unfair competition. He was thinking how he could safeguard his own right to deal with a book as he pleased even after it had obtained a privilege, and also how he could prevent his subjects from quoting the privilege as justifying them in buying and reading a book of which he chose to disapprove. He was not going to allow the judgment of 'some of his gravis priuie counsayle,' or anyone else, to be taken as expressing his own approval of the book.

The privilege was only for printing. If it meant anything more that must be discovered by reading it, and for that reason 'the hole copie or else at the least theeffect of his license and priuilege' must be printed in the book 'and playnely declared and expressed in the Englysshe tonge.' Miss Albright writes of my 'efforts to throw light on a single puzzling passage.' My submission is that it ceases to be puzzling as soon as we realise that at the time it was written 'ad imprimendum' and 'solum' had never been thus linked together to describe the exclusive rights which privileges did in fact grant, and that 'solum' thus had its usual meaning of 'only.' As to this we have contemporary testimony of the first importance.

In a letter from Richard Grafton at Paris to Thomas Cromwell dated 'the firste of Decembre' [1538] now preserved in Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. v. 323<sup>1</sup> the printer describes how he had reprinted in a correct text 'the newe testament both in Latyn and englyshe' which James Nycholson of Southwark had published with Coverdale's name, but without his leave. He goes on

Of the which bookes now beyng fyneshed I haue here sent your lordship the fyrst, thewhich I moost humbly desyer your lordship to accept, hauyng respecste rather vnto my harte then to the gifte; for it is not so well done as my harte wolde wysshe it to be: I haue also added, as your lordship maye perceauue these wordes, Cum gracia et priuilegio Regis. And the day before this present

<sup>1</sup> Printed as No. xxxviii in my 'Records of the English Bible' (1911), though I had forgotten its existence again till Mr. Reed reminded me of it.

came there a post named Nycolas, which brought your lordshipes letters to my lorde of harfforde, with thewhich was bounde a certen inhibicion for pryntyng of bookes, and for addyng of these wordes, Cum priuilegio. Then assone as my lorde of harfforde had receaued yt, he sent ymedyatlye for Mr. Couerdale and me, readyng thesame thyng vnto vs, in thewhich is expressed, that we shuld adde these wordes (ad imprimendum solum) which wordes we never heard of before. Nether do we take it that those wordes shuld be added in the pryntyng of the scripture (if yt be truly translated) for then shuld yt be a great occasyon to the enemyes to saye that yt is not the kynges acte or mynde to set yt forth, but only lycence the prynters to sell soche as is put forth. Wherefore moost humbly we beseke your lordship to take no dyspleasor for that we haue done, for rather then eny soche thyng shuld happen, we wolde do yt agayne, but I trust the thyng yt selfe is so well done, that it shall not only please your lordship, but also the Kynges highnes and all the godly in the realme.

Here in a letter written within a fortnight of the printing of the proclamation, we have the assurance of a man whose business it was to know, that 'these wordes, ad imprimendum solum . . . we neuer heard of before,' and we have also an expression of a strong dislike to using them which becomes inexplicable if they are translated 'for sole printing,' but if 'only for printing' is the correct version is intelligible enough.

Having regard to the clear intention of the King in emending the draft of the proclamation of November 16th, and Grafton's comment on it on December 1st, it is submitted that when Henry VIII wrote the new phrase, 'neuer heard of before,'



ad imprimendum solum, he used it in the sense of ‘only for printing.’ In accordance with the proclamation the words were placed in many books of 1538 and the next few years, and as these books were in fact privileged against piracy for varying terms of years, the phrase speedily acquired the new meaning ‘for sole printing,’ which has always been given it in histories of the press. The phrase, which some printers seem to have been allowed to put on their books indiscriminately, thus suggested a special royal favour, and to this extent ‘intensified the very misconception which its authors [especially Henry VIII] tried to remove.’ I am thus not prepared to haul down my flag to my friendly critic, though if I am told that my ‘incidental note’ might have been more happily phrased I will meekly agree.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

AT its Annual Meeting in January, 1914, the Bibliographical Society resolved to re-open its Roll of Membership (to which for twenty years admission had only been obtainable as vacancies occurred), and for the rest of the twelvemonth to admit any suitable candidates who presented themselves, with a view to strengthen its position, and be able to undertake more work. During the first half of 1914, many new members, both British and American, were elected, and even since the outbreak of the War there has been a steady increase. Resolutions passed at subsequent Annual Meetings have ordered the Roll to be kept open until a reasonable period after the conclusion of Peace. In January last it was resolved that it should be closed at the end of the present year. Readers of 'THE LIBRARY' who would like to join the Society while it remains open to them to do so, are requested to communicate with Mr. Alfred Pollard, 40 Murray Road, Wimbledon, S.W. 19, who will be very glad to send them particulars as to the Society's work, and terms of membership.